TENSION AND PEACE

in the

MIDDLE EAST

* * *

FACTS

THAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW

ABOUT THE TRAGEDY OF THE HOLY LAND

THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEE OFFICE

801 2nd Avenue, Room 801

New York 17, N. Y.

LE. 2-2272

With the Compliments

OF

THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEE OFFICE

Director
DR. IZZAT TANNOUS

801 2ND AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
Chapter I	The Arab Way of Life	1
	Romantic But Wrong	
	What is an Arab	
	The Arab Farmer	
	Arab Friendship and Hospitality	
	Arab Tolerance	
	Atmosphere of Goodwill	
	A World Problem	
Chapter II	Historical Background of the Palestine Problem	4
	The Holy Land	
	The Zionist Movement	
	The Zionist Claim	
	British Participation	
	Balfour Declaration - Ambiguous & Unjust	
	MacDonald "White Paper" of 1939	
	Zionist Reaction	
	Zionist Terrorism	
	United Nations Responsibility	
	Arab Rejection of Partition Plan	
	Arab Expulsion before termination of Mandate	
	Zionist Expansion	
	No Arab State	
	Arab States Intervention	
	The Armistice	
Chapter III	The Refugee Problem	14
	United States Responsibility	
	Maintaining Aggression	
	The Refugees and UNRWA	
Chapter IV	Arab Persecution	18
	The Seized Property	
	"Persecute the Arabs" Policy	
	Arabs in Israel Under Military Rule	
Chapter V	The Refugees and Communism	20
Chapter VI	A Wedge in the Middle East	21
	Israel, a Foreign Body in the Arab World	
	Israeli Aggressive Policy	
	Zionism a Threat to U. S. Interests in Arab World	
	Israel is Based on Religious Discrimination	
Chapter VII	Way to Peace in the Holy Land	24
	Israeli Attitude Towards Peace	
	Arabs Looking East	
	Arab Proposals for Peace	
	Responsibility of American People	
Appendix I	Area Ownership of Land in Palestine	30
Appendix II	Establishment and Functions of UNRWA	31
Appendix III	The "Lausanne Protocol."	34

CHAPTER I

THE ARAB WAY OF LIFE

In a secondary school in the Middle East, the Principal wanted to find out what impression the graduating class had of the United States of America - one of the leading countries of the world today. Hardly had he completed his question, when a soft voice was heard from the back of the class asking: "Don't all Americans live in skyscrapers, sir?"

Unfortunately, millions of people around the world have such a distorted view of the life in the United States. From the movies, the radio and periodicals, an impression is given that Americans live in a world of skyscrapers and night clubs.

ROMANTIC BUT WRONG

We Palestine Arabs feel that similar distortions are held by many honest persons regarding the Arab way of life. Romantic writers and film directors have given the term "Arab" a connotation which often is misleading. All too often the word "Arab" conjures up vision of picturesque, bearded nomads, plodding across the desert on camel caravans or racing over the sand in a tribal raid.

Such a picture is romantic, but it gives a wrong impression of what we Palestine Arabs are. And because we feel that we have been misunderstood, we are making this direct appeal to the American people in particular, and to the people of the West in general, in the hope that your better understanding of us will help you to realize the injustice that has been inflicted upon the Palestine Arabs and so open a new era of cooperation for our common interests.

WHAT IS AN ARAB

You may be surprised to know how much like the "average American" we are. Most of us, as in most countries, are farmers. Many are professional people - physicians, lawyers, clergymen, dentists and pharmacists. Others are businessmen, merchants, contractors and agents; almost every occupation is numbered among us.

If you had visited our homes when we lived in the larger towns like Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, you would have found life on a standard not unlike your own. Many homes had steam heat, electric refrigerators and pressure cookers. Almost every home had a radio - but no television yet. In the main, we dressed like Americans, saw American films, read American books and magazines. Many of us spoke English or French in addition to our own language.

THE ARAB FARMER

On the farms, our people lived somewhat different from American farmers. While American farmers lived in isolated farm houses directly on their land, Arab farmers in Palestine lived

together in villages from which they walked to their land daily for work. This is important to remember because, as we shall see later, the Palestine catastrophy has cut off about 200,000 Arab farmers from the lands they tilled for hundreds of years. They are now isolated in their villages over-looking their heritage which is now being tilled by Jewish immigrants.

Citrus fruit was the leading commercial crop of our farmers. It was the Palestine Arab farmer who first made famous the "Jaffa oranges" known all over the world.

The olive tree, so much a part of the Holy Land, was the special friend of the Arab farmer, and until the creation of Israel in 1948, Arab olive orchards constituted 99% of the total olive area of Palestine.

ARAB FRIENDSHIP AND HOSPITALITY

Among these happy people, ties of family and friendship were close but no stranger was neglected when he visited their villages or homes. **Pleasant conversation and heart-felt hospitality were the marks of the Palestine Arab village.** At anytime a total stranger might stop at any home and be given a hearty meal or invited to spend the night; and no matter how poor a farmer might have been he always gave his best to the guest, even if it meant denying himself later on.

ARAB TOLERANCE

Along with this hospitality and friendliness went the tolerance of the Arab. Among Palestine Arabs, it was hard to distinguish between Jews, Moslems and Christians, Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Protestants. Ours was truly a HOLY LAND, the Holy Land not for one religion but of three Great Faiths. Inside Jerusalem's Old Walled City, the Christian knelt in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where Christ was buried, the Jew stood before the Wailing Wall and the Moslem prayed in the Mosque of Omar.

Palestine Arabs always had regarded the rights of each community as sacred. No community would have dreamed of trespassing on another community's Holy Place. The keeper of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre illustrates the type of tolerance known in Palestine. Because many Christian sects have rights inside this Church, it was long ago established that a Moslem, being a neutral party, should keep the keys of Christendom's foremost Shrine. Since the time of the early Caliphs of Islam, the Moslem "Nusseibeh family" has acted as custodian of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The same Moslem family keeps the keys today, and no Christian has ever complained that this trust has been abused. *

* To illustrate Arab tolerance toward other religions, the Jews now living in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq have continued to enjoy full and equal rights and liberty as the rest of the population. Despite the Palestine tragedy, this relationship between Moslem. Christian and Jew has not been affected. This is well substantiated in "Who Knows Better Must Say So" by Rabbi Elmer Berger, Executive Vice President of the "American Council for Judaism," 201 East 57th Street, N. Y.

Jerusalem in 1918 - Before the British Occupation "There was no religious bigotry among us"

Jerusalem in 1948 - The Holy City has been converted into a battlefield.

ATMOSPHERE OF GOODWILL

In such an atmosphere of goodwill between the different communities living in the Holy Land, there was no room for narrow religious bigotry among us. Our little country was too great; its meaning too rich. For many generations, since the time of the Crusades, the Holy Land was perhaps the most peaceful country in the world.

This peace was, to the detriment of the world at large, converted into chaos and confusion - maybe for many generations to come - by a faction of fanatic Zionists who, on ancient history and misinterpreted Biblical prophecies claimed the Holy Land as their own. Blindly and enthusiastically supported by some Christian powers, Great Britain and the U. S. A., in particular, they have turned the "Land of Peace" into a land of political and religious warfare and the Holy City into a battle-field

A WORLD PROBLEM

It would require a large volume to depict in part the sad events that have taken place in the last four decades which have ultimately led to the partition - or more correctly - to the "mutilation" of the Holy Land and the dispersion of its indigenous Arab inhabitants. This mutilation will go down in history as one of the most immoral international acts of the twentieth century. It has effaced the sacred and significant name of the "Holy Land" from the map of the world, and has created a political and religious controversy among millions of people of different faiths and nationalities. It is not possible at this stage to predict what the result of this controversy will be, but it has already become a world problem.

In order to understand how this world problem came into existence, it is necessary to give a brief account of what has taken place in Palestine since the British occupation in 1918, resulting in what seems to be the insoluble Palestine Problem.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

THE HOLY LAND

The small peaceful country of Palestine - or the Holy Land - at the end of the First World War, was part of the Ottoman Empire. It had an area of 10,000 square miles, roughly the size of Vermont in the United States, or the size of Wales in the British Isles. Geographically, it was an integral part of Syria and was referred to as "Southern Syria."

In 1918, when the Allies occupied the country, Palestine had a population of about 700,000 inhabitants, all of whom spoke the

Arabic language. Of these, 574,000 were Moslems, 70,000 were Christians and 56,000 were Jews.

History affords ample proof that in Palestine these different religious communities for hundreds of years prior to the British occupation in 1918, lived in peace and harmony. It was truly **the Holy Land,** the land of inspiration, hallowed by millions of people of the three faiths.

But this peace in the Holy Land was not to remain.

ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Behind what has occurred in Palestine is a "Movement," a well organized movement, formerly disguised as religious, now openly political and aggressive. This movement had for its objective, the transformation of the Holy Land by any means - regardless of what this country signifies to Christianity and to Islam; and regardless of the rights of the inhabitants - into a Zionist State. This involved the displacement and expulsion of the indigenous Arab population - Christian and Moslem - and their replacement by Jews from all parts of the world.

ZIONIST CLAIM

The Zionists contend that they have a territorial claim to Palestine because of ancient historic connections of 4,000 years ago. They base their claim to Palestine on certain passages in the Old Testament of the Holy Bible: "Unto thy seed will I give this land . . . " The Zionists maintain that God has promised Abraham their return to Palestine.

No doubt a great number of the American people were misled to believe that this claim holds true up to the present day, and in helping the Jews to return to Palestine they would be fulfilling the Will of God.

Professor Alfred Guillaume, Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London, in his pamphlet "Zionists and the Bible" * criticizes this claim in the following words:

> "But such views are a distortion of the Old Testament prophecies which predicted a return from Bablyon and from all the lands whither the Jews had been exiled. And these prophecies were fulfilled. The Jews did return to Judea, they did rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and they did rebuild the temple; and after fluctuating they did secure a brief period of political independence and expansion under the Maccabbees. Thus the prophecies of the Return have been fulfilled, and they cannot be fulfilled again. Within the canonical literature of the Old Testament there is no prophecy of a second return after the return from the Babylonian Exile."

Furthermore, Christians cannot accept this Zionist territorial

---

* Reproduced as a separate pamphlet by The Palestine Arab Refugee Office.

claim to Palestine because of New Testament teachings. An identical view is held by the "Ulama of Islam" based on Quranic doctrine.

However, the Zionists fanatically wanted to occupy Palestine at any cost and make it solely and discriminately a Jewish State. To attain their goal, they prepared an **organized invasion of the Holy Land.**

BRITISH PARTICIPATION

The Arabs first became officially aware of the designs of the Zionists on Palestine after the issue of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. During the First World War the Zionists engineered and acquired the Balfour Declaration from Great Britain, the first big Power to fall under Zionist influence. On 2nd November, 1917, Lord Balfour, then Foreign Secretary, in a letter to Lord Rothschild, wrote as follows:-

> "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Great Britain had no legal right to promise any people a national home in another people's country. Palestine did not belong to Britain, but only to its own people. The Allies proclaimed in the First World War that they were **fighting for world freedom and not for the right of conquest.** Furthermore, this Balfour Declaration was made to the Jewish people after definite promises of Arab independence from Turkish rule had been given in 1916 to His Majesty, the late King Hussein of Hejaz. Great Britain then promised independence to all Arab territories, including Palestine, if the Arabs revolted against the Ottoman Empire and helped the Allied Forces to expel the Turkish and German armies out of Arab lands. These promises were contained in the well-known "MacMahon-Hussein Correspondence."

The Arabs did revolt and did assist in driving the Turkish and German armies out of the Arab countries, but British pledges to the late King Hussein were not kept.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION - AMBIGUOUS AND UNJUST

The ambiguity of the Balfour Declaration; its conflict with the rights of the indigenous population; and its inconsistency with previous promises made to the Arabs, were responsible, during thirty years of British Administration in Palestine, in bringing death and destruction to many innocent people. The Balfour Declaration was the greatest injustice that a nation could impose upon another.

Several attempts were made during the period of the Mandate to explain the real intent of the Balfour Declaration. In 1922, Sir

Winston Churchill (then Secretary for the Colonies) issued a "White Paper" on "British Policy in Palestine," defining the "National Home" as a "cultural autonomous Jewish community." The White Paper * specifically denied that there would be any "imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole," or that there was any intent that Palestine should become "as Jewish as England is English." The MacDonald White Paper of 1939 ** followed the policy of the Churchill White Paper, and yet attempts to safeguard the interests of the Arabs in their own country even as stipulated in the unjust Balfour Declaration were frustrated by Zionist intimidation, pressure and influence on the British Government.

It was, therefore, possible by means of Britain's power for the Zionists to transfer to Palestine during the period of the Mandate more than half a million Jews against the wishes and stiff resistence of the indigenous Arab population. For thirty years the Arab population fought alone against the great might of Britain and the tremendous power of world Zionism. They were thirty years of tears, sweat and blood!

The British historian, Arnold Toynbee, records this tragic episode in his book "A Study of History" *** in the following words:

> "While the direct responsibility for the calamity that overtook the Palestinian Arabs in A. D. 1948 was on the heads of the Zionist Jews who seized a *lebensraum* for themselves in Palestine by force of arms in that year, a heavy load of indirect, yet irrepudiable, responsibility was on the heads of the people of the United Kingdom; for the Jews would not have had in A. D. 1948 the opportunity to conquer an Arab country in which they had amounted to no more than an inconsiderable minority in A. D. 1948, if, during the intervening thirty years, the power of the United Kingdom had not been exerted continuously to make possible the entry of Jewish immigrants into Palestine contrary to the will, in despite of the protests and without regard to the forebodings of Arab inhabitants of the country who in A. D. 1948, were duly to become the victims of this long pursued British Policy."

MacDONALD WHITE PAPER OF 1939 **

Realizing too late the injustice and the unworkability of the Jewish National Home Policy embodied in the Mandate, Great Britain, in December 1938, held a conference in London with the Arabs and with the Jews, and in March 1939, issued a new Statement of Policy which was more in line with justice and fair play. In this "White Paper" the new policy asserted:

---

* British Government Cmd. 1700, pages 17-21

** British Government Cmd. 6019.

*** "A Study of History," by Arnold Toynbee, Volume VIII, pages 289-292.

(1) that the Balfour Declaration given in 1917 meant a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine and **not** a "Jewish State." This National Home, the White Paper explained, had already existed;

(2) that Jewish immigration to Palestine should therefore cease after admitting a further quota of 75,000 Jewish immigrants; and

(3) that the inhabitants of Palestine, consisting at that time of 1,250,000 Arabs and 650,000 Jews should enjoy self- determination and become independent within a period of ten years.

ZIONIST REACTION

The Zionists vehemently attacked the new British policy on Palestine as it totally frustrated their plans. They consequently set forth a world-wide propaganda campaign with distorted facts and harnessed the power of world Zionism to prevent the implementation of the new policy. However, in September of that same year, the Second World War was declared and Great Britain shelved the "White Paper" in the archives of the Colonial Office, where it lies peacefully until this day. Had Great Britain at that time actually and immediately put its new policy into force, it is our belief that there would have been no Palestine Problem today.

ZIONIST TERRORISM

Realizing that a Zionist State would not be officially sanctioned by Great Britain as the Mandatory, the Zionists resorted to force.

To the "Hagana" - already organized by the Jewish Agency on the lines of a regular army - were added two terrorist groups. namely, the "Irgun Zvei Leumi" and the "Stern Gang," to terrorize the Government and the people of Palestine. All these forces were illegally organized under the very nose and with the knowledge of the British Mandatory Government. And in 1944, even before the Second World War was over, and while Great Britain was still fighting for Jewish liberation in Europe from the Hitler regime, the Zionists launched a campaign of terror and destruction on the British forces - the very forces that brought them to Palestine.

A flagrant example of the brutality of their actions was the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, where. on the 22nd of July 1946, one hundred innocent government officials were buried beneath the rubble; British military barracks and camps were attacked every night; British soldiers were kidnapped and hanged; others were flogged in humiliation of British prestige.

These terrorist acts over a period of four years, intimidated Great Britain into giving up her mandate over Palestine to the United Nations. This was officially declared to take place on the 15th of May 1948.

UNITED NATIONS RESPONSIBILITY

At this juncture the responsibility of the United Nations began. Unfortunately the U. N. did not stand the test. Member-states were intimidated and they succumbed to pressure. International justice had to suffer at the hands of the body created to uphold international justice. The United Nations, with the special efforts of the United States Government and against the strong opposition of the Arab, Asiatic and a few other States, adopted on the 29th of November 1947, a resolution to partition Palestine into a "Jewish State" and an "Arab State" - the first Zionist objective. The maneuvers used to obtain a majority vote in the General Assembly are best described in the Diaries of the late James Forrestal, * then U. S. Secretary of Defense when he said:

"The methods that had been used to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely onto scandal."

ARAB REJECTION OF PARTITION PLAN

The Arabs of Palestine as well as the Arab States, for extremely serious reasons, rejected the United Nations Resolution to partition Palestine. The Partition Resolution allotted to the proposed "Jewish State" 56 per cent of the total area of Palestine at a time when Jewish ownership of land did not exceed six per cent of the total area of the country and only nine per cent of the area of the "Jewish State." ** The Jewish portion had included the coastal and other fertile plains and the irrigable lands of the Tiberias and Hula basin. On the other hand, the proposed "Arab State" consisted of the arid mountainous regions and sparsely cultivable areas with little or no irrigation possibilities.

As regards population, the "Jewish State" was to consist of 498,000 Jews and an Arab (Moslem and Christian) minority of 497,000 - a difference of only 1,000.

To give approximately 650,000 Jewish newcomers the better half of the lands of Palestine leaving to the indigenous Arab population, who were more than twice their number the less fertile part, was in itself an unjust deal construed by the newly organized United Nations whose Charter advocated justice and equality. Furthermore, it was very difficult to conceive how a fifty per cent Jewish population could subjugate under its rule a fifty per cent Arab (Moslem and Christian) population against their wishes. In this case, the United Nations violated its own Charter and defeated its own end. The present dilemma of the U. N. in the Palestine deadlock started from this point.

The Arab population of Palestine also rejected the Partition Plan because they felt that the United Nations had no right to

---

* The Forrestal Diaries, edited by Walter Millis, The Viking Press, 1951, p. 363.
** For further detail of land holdings in Palestine, see Appendix I.

divide their country between them and another people who were brought in by force of arms against their will. The United Nations did not have the jurisdiction to partition countries; their action was illegal, undemocratic and contrary to the principle of self-determination contained in the Charter.

The Arabs also rejected the Partition Plan because they knew it was unworkable. It would be relevant to recall that Great Britain, in an effort to settle the Palestine problem, appointed a Royal Commission which recommended in 1937 the partition of the Holy Land in a manner not so very different from the United Nations Partition Plan. A year later, the Woodhouse Expert Commission that was appointed to investigate the possibilities of the recommendation, declared Partition to be unworkable and therefore Great Britain abandoned the scheme. For this reason, the United Kingdom, as a member of the United Nations, did not vote in favor of the Partition Plan on November 29, 1947.

The bias of the United Nations was too apparent, and as mentioned before, the United States Government played a big role in the adoption of this ill-fated resolution. Many of those who supported the Partition Resolution later explained their vote in a perplexed and perhaps "guilty conscience" manner. Belgium's Foreign Minister Van Langenhove said of it:

"We are not certain that it is completely just; we doubt whether it is practical; and we are afraid that it involves great risks . . . "

It should be recalled that the Arabs had warned the U. N. that partitioning Palestine into two states would bring perpetual war to the area. The Arabs demanded a democratic independent Palestine with equal rights for all its inhabitants.

ARAB EXPULSION BEFORE TERMINATION OF MANDATE

Finding that their State as designed by the United Nations contained an equal number of Arab inhabitants which it would be difficult to subjugate, the Zionists moved on to their second objective. This was definitely to expel the Arab population by terror. Zionist tactics for this expulsion were carried out in many ways. The blowing up of the Semiramis Hotel in Jerusalem on January 5, 1948, where 22 Arabs were buried beneath the rubble, and exploding huge amounts of dynamite in the public square of the city of Jaffa only a day before, where 30 Arabs were killed and 98 wounded, are examples of the myriad crimes these Zionist terrorists perpetrated in the Holy Land.

Their main attacks, however, were directed against numerous peaceful isolated Arab villages, terrorizing the inhabitants and causing panic among the defenseless population. The most savage of them all was at Dair Yasin, where a whole village - more than 250 men, women and children - was totally exterminated in cold blood in a few hours. Some of those assassins who took part in the crime boasted of it as a masterpiece of military tactics. We quote:

"All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic shouting Dair Yasin."

Thus wrote Menahim Begin, fuhrer of the "Irgun," author of the crime and member of the Israeli Parliament today.

Arnold Toynbee, previously quoted, refers to these atrocities in the following words:

> " . . the Jews had even less excuse in A. D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnessar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portugese Inquisition had had . . In A. D. 1948, the Jews knew from personal experience what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis committed against the Jews."

As the date for the termination of the Mandate was approaching, the Zionists intensified their attacks and commenced to occupy the towns of Palestine, **expelling its Moslem and Christian inhabitants.** The towns of Tiberias and Samakh were attacked and occupied on the 19th of April 1948; Haifa on April 22nd; Jaffa on April 29th; the Arab Quarter of Katamon in Jerusalem on April 30th, Safad on 10th May; Beisan on 11th May; and Acre on 14th May, 1948.

All these occupations and expulsions took place before British withdrawal on the 15th of May 1948 and at a time when not a single soldier from any Arab State was on Palestine soil. Not only did the British troops fail to afford the Arab inhabitants protection, but actually took part in evacuating the Moslem and Christian population from Tiberias and Samakh and supplied means of transport for those fleeing from Jaffa and Haifa.

But this was not all.

ZIONIST EXPANSION

The Zionists, not content with the expulsion of the Arab population, planned to expand their territory beyond the partition plan. They ordered their forces to occupy Arab territory piecemeal. The whole Northern District of Galilee was occupied. In the south, Lydda, Ramleh, Majdal and Beersheba were also occupied expelling their Arab population. And through a treacherous maneuver, took possession of a very large fertile plain, depriving nearly 100,000 Arabs of the lands they tilled for hundreds of years and of their only means of livelihood. As these people did not lose their homes, they were not considered refugees by the United Nations definition, thus becoming helpless and destitute. These people who now occupy the front-line villages, spend hours daily gazing in semi-consciousness and despair on their beautiful fertile plains only a few yards away and feverishly watch the Jews from all countries, even the Palestinian Jew who was their next door neighbor, till it, water it and collect its produce.

Arab refugee family "at home" in a cave

Israeli atrocities on Christmas Eve 1952 at a village near Jerusalem

A similar number of 100,000 Arabs suffer the same fate in the Gaza Sector.

NO ARAB STATE

As a result of this Zionist expansion, over 30 per cent of fertile land was added to the "Jewish State," leaving about 50 per cent of the area allotted to the "Arab State" in Arab hands, thereby eliminating the possibility of the creation of the "Arab State" decided upon by the United Nations.

Jewish ownership of land in Palestine on the date of the creation of Israel on May 15, 1948, was less than six per cent. Today they control 77 per cent. The data in Appendix I are of special interest.

ARAB STATES INTERVENTION

The Arab States are accused by the Israelis that they have "launched a war of aggression against Israel" and this war has created the refugee problem for which, the Israelis allege, the Arab States are responsible.

The Arab armies entered Palestine after May 15, 1948, and at the urgent request of the Arab inhabitants. They did not enter Palestine to "launch a war of aggression" against the Zionists, but to save the Moslem and Christian population who, as mentioned above, were being subjected to all sorts of atrocities and expulsions. Had it not been for this intervention, the Zionist-Jewish forces would not have halted at the present armistice lines they now claim, but would have occupied the whole of Palestine and would have put before the world a "fait accompli." Furthermore, without Arab States intervention, the Arab Moslem and Christian population would have suffered still more from a Nazi system of annihilation which the Zionists tried to imitate in Palestine as recorded by Toynbee, previously quoted, in the following words:

> "The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis, were the massacre of men, women and children at Dair Yasin on the 9th of April 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population in large number from districts within range of the Jewish armed forces and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish forces between the 15th of May, 1948 and the end of the year - e. g. from Akka in May, from Lydda and Ramleh in July, and from Beersheba and Western Galilee in October . . . The Arab blood on the 9th April, 1948 at Dair Yasin was on the head of the Irgun; the expulsions after the 15th May, 1948, were on the heads of all Israel."

THE ARMISTICE

Hostilities officially came to an end with the signing of the

Armistice Agreements between the Arab States and the Israelis on the 15th July, 1949. The Security Council appointed Count Bernadotte of Norway as Mediator on behalf of the United Nations. Count Bernadotte immediately moved towards his objective of bringing peace between the disputing parties. The Mediator made recommendations to the U. N. for boundary adjustments and for the return of the refugees to their homes and property. Realizing that the Mediator's policy for peace was not in accordance with their plans, the Israelis arranged for his assassination before he could use his influence to implement his recommendations. And so ended the efforts of a great man in the cause of peace in the Middle East, thus confirming the statement he made in his last report to the U. N.:

> "The Jewish State was not born in peace as was hoped for in the resolution of November 29, but rather . . . in violence and bloodshed." *

CHAPTER III

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

"But the logic of facts is inexorable. It shows that no room can be made in Palestine for a second nation except by dislodging the nation in possession."

These were the closing words of the famous book "The Arab Awakening" by George Antonius, 1938.

This Zionist invasion of Palestine has dislodged the nation in possession and has created a serious refugee problem. Nearly one million Arab refugees are now scattered in the surrounding Arab countries, living on a meagre United Nations ration in destitution. Henry Byroade, former U. S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near East, South Asian and African Affairs, before the American Council for Judaism in Philadelphia on May 1st, 1954 said:

> "What a breath of fresh air would be given the world if all concerned would simply admit the fundamental facts that these people are homeless, are in desperate want, and are uncompensated for their property and other losses that they have suffered. Can anyone benefit by the continued compression of these people in tiny areas and in other circumstances that make for moral degeneration and the making of a new generation fed on bitterness and hate."

UNITED STATES RESPONSIBILITY

The refugees are grateful to Henry Byroade for his sympathy and humanitarian feelings, but it is pertinent to recall at this

---

* Progress Report 1948: Supplement No. 11 (A/648)

juncture the distressing fact that, contrary to all traditions of the American people, it was former President Harry Truman in the name of the American people who whole-heartedly participated in bringing about the present state of affairs. Without this participation the Palestine tragedy would not have occurred.

President Truman, in his Memoirs ("Life" Magazine of January 30th, 1956), admits the part he played in bringing about the dispersion of nearly one million human beings, in the following words:

> "I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders - actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats - disturbed me and annoyed me. Individuals and groups asked me, usually in rather quarrelsome and emotional ways, to stop the Arabs, to keep the British from supporting the Arabs, to furnish American soldiers, to do this, that and the other."

And so it was that the President of the United States succumbed to Zionist pressure and threats!

Three years later, President Truman reported to Congress * the results of his hand-doing as follows:

> "Until this large body of **uprooted** and homeless people find new homes and economic opportunities, they will constitute a potentially destructive force in this vitally important area of the world."

The following quotations illustrate further the United States responsibility in this **uprooting:**

In "We Need Not Fail," by Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, we read:

> "By direct order of the White House, every form of pressure direct or indirect was brought to bear by American officials upon those countries outside the Moslem world that were known to be either uncertain or opposed to partition. Representatives or intermediaries were employed by the White House to make sure that the necessary majority would at length be secured."

In "Palestine is Our Business," Dr. Millar Burrows, professor at Yale University, states:

> "The vote for partition in the United Nations Assembly on November 29, 1947. was forced through by our Government with a shameless resort to the timeworn methods of power politics. It was a shameful demonstration of the sad fact that the old morally discredited ways of unscrupulous pressure and diplomatic intimidation could control a body formed for the high purpose of achieving international justice."

"Time" magazine of October 15, 1951. referring to the Forrestal Diaries, said:

> "All-out U. S. support of a Zionist State, he (Forrestal) believed

* President's Report to Congress 1951, page 164.

was fraught with great danger for the future security of this country. Democratic National Chairman, J. Howard McGrath, gravely warned him that the Democrats would probably lose the States of New York, Pennsylvania and California if they did not heed Zionist ambitions. As Forrestal had foreseen, all-out U. S. support of Israel left scars of hatred and distrust of the United States on the Arab World."

The late Dr. Cyril Garbett, Archbishop of York, speaking as the political spokesman of the Church of England, declared at a diocesan conference on November 5, 1953, that "the Jewish vote in New York" had a "paralyzing effect on the United Nations" in the Israeli-Arab question.

MAINTAINING AGGRESSION

Not only did the United States Government encourage this "gross injustice," but it relentlessly maintained it inspite of the loud cries and the great sufferings of the refugees. Hundreds of millions of American dollars flowed continuously to those who were. against every human concept, occupying our homes. Every moral and material help was generously extended to Israel. On page 89 of "Our Foreign Policy," a U. S. State Department publication of September, 1950, we read:

"The people of Israel have had America's moral and material backing since the beginning of their struggle for nationhood."

This persistent attitude of the American Government, not only made the refugees bitter and desperate, but made the whole Arab and Moslem world, as Forrestal had predicted, look with distrust on the United States.

As a consequence, the good name and unparalleled prestige which the American people have so deservedly enjoyed in the Middle East for the last hundred years, dropped to a very low level. The American has become unpopular and he is looked upon with suspicion.

It is indeed unfortunate that this should happen at a time when the world is divided into two camps and tremendous forces are in conflict. And when the horizon in the West continues to look so dark and hopeless after a long patient watching, is it not inviting for the refugees to look East for an early sunrise?

THE REFUGEES AND UNRWA *

Because the Israelis will not take back the Palestine Arab refugees whom they have expelled, inspite of two U. N. resolutions decreeing their return, a serious refugee problem has been created in the Middle East. This problem is getting worse and more serious as we shall see later in the following pages of this pamphlet. The U. N. on the 8th December, 1949, established an agency by the name of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine

* For detailed account of tasks of Agency, see Appendix II.

Refugees - known as the UNRWA - to care for and repatriate the refugees. During the five years of its life, the UNRWA has not been able to repatriate one single refugee to his home. The Agency is however, trying to resettle some of them outside their homes by means of projects as the Jordan watershed plan (Johnston Plan) and the Sinai project now under consideration.

The number of refugees registered with the UNRWA as on June 30th, 1955, was as follows:

Gaza Sector	214,601	
Jordan	499,606	
Lebanon	103,600	
Syria	88,179	
		905,986

To this figure of 905,986 should be added those refugees who are not registered with the UNRWA because they are self-supporting and those who have emigrated to other parts of the world. They are estimated as follows:

Gaza Sector	5,000	
Egypt	5,000	
Lebanon	40,000	
Other countries	10,000	
		60,000

A further 200,000 persons in Jordan and the Gaza Sector have become destitute because they have lost their lands and their means of livelihood. These do not receive rations because they are not considered eligible as they still retain their homes, even though their lands were taken from them. Consequently they do not fall under the U. N. definition of a refugee.

The total number of persons directly affected by the Israeli aggression is now close to 1,200,000 human beings

UNRWA provides the eligible refugees, who fall under the definition and who cannot support themselves, with limited rations, some educational, health and social welfare services.

It is, however, necessary to mention here, that the refugee ration is the poorest in the world and gives only 1,500 calories instead of a minimum of 2,000. It is also devoid of fresh vegetables and meat. It **costs seven cents per person per day**, including administration.

The refugee gets no clothing from UNRWA and only receives an occasional blanket for bedding.

Many philanthropic institutions in the United States benevolently supply the refugees with some clothing but far from adequately. To these institutions we extend our warm thanks.

CHAPTER IV

ARAB PERSECUTION

"I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do to the Arabs." This is what Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader and first President of Israel wrote.

What judgement can we pass on Israel after seven years of its life, when the Arab refugees have been for over seven years out of their country, deprived of their homes, without income, without hope, sheltered in tattered tents, in caves and in Mosques and fed on a ration of bare existence?

And after five years of a determined "starvation policy," Israel has come out with the "generous" offer to unfreeze the savings of the refugees in banks in Israel. But when will Israel begin to pay the tens of millions of dollars due as income on seized Arab property worth billions of dollars? So far, not a cent has been received by any refugee as rent for his property.

THE SEIZED PROPERTY

The seized but falsely called by the Israelis "abandoned" property and other losses of the refugees are estimated at about two-billion pounds sterling. This property which consists of millions of dunums of fertile land, tilled for more than a thousand years by Arab farmers, is now being tilled by Jewish immigrants coming from all parts of the world. Thousands of Arab houses are also being occupied by Jewish immigrants. The Israeli custodian has, for the last seven years, been renting, buying and selling Arab property at ridiculously low prices, giving no account of his deeds and deals and paying no returns whatsoever to the destitute owners. All kinds of discriminatory laws and regulations have been promulgated by Israel to legalize the usurpation of this colossal property and its proceeds. So far no investigation or even a question has been asked by the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission entrusted by the General Assembly with the task of protecting the rights, property and interests of the refugees, or by any Power interested in "Human Rights" as to the present status of this property or of what has become of its proceeds.

PERSECUTE THE ARAB POLICY

And what judgment are we to pass on Israel that claims to be the "bulwark of democracy in the Middle East" in its treatment of the Arab minority in the Jewish State? Zionists urge tolerance in the United States, but how tolerant are they with the Arab minority in Israel whom they consider as second-class citizens? Moshe Smilansky, writing in "Ner," an Israeli monthly of September - October 1953, says:

"Where are you Jews? Why do we not at least pay with a generous hand compensation to these miserable people? Where to take the money? But we build palaces, buy luxury cars, waste petrol like water, let our ministers and hundreds of delegates (Shichim) live a luxurious life, instead of paying a debt that crieth unto us from earth and heaven . . . "

"And do we sin only against the refugees? Do we not treat the Arabs who remained with us as second-class citizens . . . Did a single Jewish farmer raise his hand in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) in opposition to a Law that deprives Arab peasants of their land? . . . How doth sit solitary, in the City of Jerusalem, the Jewish conscience."

Attention is drawn to our memorandum entitled "Persecution of the Arabs in Israel" which should be read in conjunction with this appeal. The memorandum begins with the candid admission of this persecution by Moshe Sharett, Israeli Foreign Minister when he said:

"I presume in advance, that certain acts of injustice have been taking place."

David Ben Gurion, Israeli Prime Minister, is so fanatically anti-Arab that he refused to receive the Arab members of the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) and the Arab leaders living in Israel today who wanted to intercede with him personally for, at least, the mitigation of his "persecute the Arabs" policy. This crude, inhuman and totalitarian policy in a "modern" state hailed by its friends abroad as a highly democratic and liberal government, is being condemned not only by the Arabs in Israel who are the direct victims of its oppressive methods, but by many conscientious Jews in Israel and abroad.

ARABS IN ISRAEL UNDER MILITARY RULE

Taking various shapes and forms, ranging from the persecution of the Arab individual to the total destruction of an Arab town or village, this "persecute the Arabs" policy converted the State of Israel into a large concentration camp governed by a military regime and a "ghetto" for its Arab citizens; and the "ghetto" which was the bane of Jewish life in Europe has become the bane of Arab life in Israel.

All this, and United States financial and moral support is continuing for Israel by the American people.

We are convinced that a great number of the people of the United States have, in good faith, helped the Jews to go to Palestine in order to relieve as many of them as possible from Hitlerite persecution. This was done in sympathy with a persecuted community. But, is it possible for the American people to imagine that what the Jews suffered at the hands of Hitler, the Arabs are today suffering at the hands of the Israelis? What service had it been to world peace and justice in helping one million Jews to take the place of one million Palestine Arabs (Moslems and Christians), making them homeless and destitute?

CHAPTER V

REFUGEES AND COMMUNISM

No doubt many of the refugees are now imbued with communistic views. They are not so much in love with Communism as they are at war with the Democracies. "The Democracies stand for freedom," the refugees say, "yet it was the Democracies which deprived us of all freedom and denied us our homes and country!"

The refugees have come to believe that their salvation cannot be achieved at the hands of the Democracies. Zionist propaganda, influence, finance, and, most important of all, voting power will force the hands of the Democracies to pursue their unjust policy in the Holy Land. In the opinion of the refugees, internal politics in the United States are of such weight as to prevent the Power leading the world today from adjusting a wrong policy in the Holy Land, even if this adjustment is in the interests of the United States and of world peace.

In the opinion of the Arab refugees, the interests of the American nation as a whole are suffering today at the hands of the American Zionists who have misled American public opinion. The "Lion of Democracy," the refugees say, "is being led by the Zionists to conform with the interests of Israel and not with the interests of the U. S. and of the Democracies."

The refugees hold different views of the Communists. "The Soviet Bear," they say, "can at any time, show his teeth to the Zionists when the interests of Communism are at stake. The interests of Communism are supreme." However, some refugees earnestly believe, rightly or wrongly, that a new communist order established in their part of the world will send them back to their homes and lands and will make of them "Comrades," a status much preferred to their present state.

The friendly move toward the Arabs shown by the Soviet Union in the more recent session of the United Nations has won for her many Arab admirers. Soviet Russia is making the best of a rare opportunity and what better opportunity can be found!

It may be analyzed from the events of the past eight years that Soviet Russia voted for partition in 1947 not so much to serve the Zionist cause, but actually to serve her own interests in that area. It was obvious to the Soviets that partition of the Holy Land would bring war and instability to the Middle East as the Arabs predicted; and as a consequence, it would create an ill-feeling between the Arabs and the United States. And so it was that the seeds of Communism were sown in the Middle East by the Partition Resolution enforced by the United States.

It has become crystal clear to many free Americans that the disturbed Middle East as a result of the Partition Plan has now reached the boiling point, but Zionist influence and pressure continue

to prevent the Democracies from implimenting a just settlement of the Palestine problem. In point of fact it is now the Democracies and not the Communists who are nourishing Communism in the Middle East. It is being fertilized by the U. S. Treasury and the American taxpayer in the form of technical and other aid and tax-free contributions to Israel as compared to the sterile passive "policy of the status quo" towards the Arabs. The prolonged aggravated Palestine problem and the increased tension in the area are, daily, making new enemies for the Western Democracies and contributing new friends to Soviet Russia. We have no doubt that the United States Government will, sooner or later, find out her mistake, but - like in China - it may then be too late.

We believe that it is essential at this crossroad for the American people to realize the strategic and economic importance of the Arab World:

(1) The Arab people, numbering over 70 million, occupy the most strategic spot in the world - the pivot joining the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe where world central communications meet.

(2) This Arab territory contains about 60% of the world's oil reserves and at present provides 95% of Europe's requirements. This territory may very well tip the scales either way.

CHAPTER VI

A WEDGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL, A FOREIGN BODY IN THE ARAB WORLD

By brutal force, Israel has been created in the midst of an Arab territory. It is literally a wedge separating the Asian from the African part of the Arab World, thus cutting off all land communications between them. Great Britain and the United States of America were the hammer to drive this wedge in this most inconvenient and unhappy position.

The Middle East has, for many decades, been the scene of imperialistic exploitation by the Western Powers. The implantation of this foreign body - Israel - in the very heart of the Arab World is practically another form of this imperialistic infiltration which all free peoples vehemently resist. It is indeed illogical and impractical to expect the Arabs to tolerate in their midst this foreign body - foreign in every way, in 'language,' in 'religion,' in 'culture' and most important of all, in 'aspirations.'

Nothing foreign may remain in a body unless it proves practical and useful. Take for example an artificial limb - it is foreign -

but useful. If this foreign body does not prove its usefulness, and more so, if it proves its harmfulness, all the forces around it will, consciously and unconsciously, be working for its isolation and its ultimate eradication. From the way the Israelis have been carrying on their persistent aggressive policy since 1948, they have been asking for isolation and war! One may tolerate a harmless growth but not a malignant one. The consequences are unavoidable.

ISRAELI AGGRESSIVE POLICY

After the signing of the armistice with the Arab States, the Israelis believed that they could conclude peace with these States within a short period of time. At the same time, they hoped to sign peace treaties without recognizing the rights and interests of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine whom they ousted from their homes and country and who are now living in destitution.

The Israelis have adamantly refused to allow the refugees to return to their homes. Instead, they have offered their homes to any Jew in the world who would condescend to go to Palestine and take possession. Former Assistant Secretary Byroade, previously quoted, speaking before the American Council for Judaism, said:

> "They (the Arab refugees) read every day of transactions whereby the abandoned property left behind in Israel is being transferred, bought and sold. They have heard many statements made of the intentions of Israel, but such statements in empty space are not reassuring. The fact that Israel has obtained and is now using restitution from Germany while doing nothing towards the compensation of Arab refugees, understandably adds to their bitterness."

Finding that the Arab States would not talk peace with them before the return of the refugees to their homes and before withdrawing to the boundaries of the Partition Plan of 1947, the Israelis decided to force peace on the Arab States.

The persistent aggressive policy of Israel since 1948, had this ulterior motive. The Qibya massacre, the Nahhalin assault, and hundreds of other concerted attacks on front line villages, are but a recent reminder of the Dair Yasin tragedy. The ghastly attacks of the Israeli regular forces on Egyptian posts in the Gaza Strip and the adjoining Demilitarized Zone on three different occasions since February 1955, when a total of 85 lives were lost and 56 were wounded, were for the purpose of intimidating Egypt into a peace treaty. And the most striking of all tragedies was their unprovoked attack on the night of December 11th, 1955, on the Syrian outpost in the region of Lake Tiberias, when 56 persons, of whom eight were women and children, were killed and eight wounded. This savage attack has brought upon the head of Israel the condemnation of the Security Council for the fourth time and the Council warned that, if there were a repetiton, it would take further measures against Israel under the Charter.

It should be remembered that Israel has already been con-

demned by the Security Council for three other major military attacks, while no Arab State was at any time accused of similar attacks by its armed forces against Israeli-occupied territory. Most of the border incidents for which the Arab States had been held responsible were for violations by so-called Arab "infiltrators" from the front-line villages, who steal their way during the dark hours to collect the produce of their own lands on the other side of the Armistice line - produce now usurped by the Jewish immigrants Hundreds of these so-called infiltrators were killed by the Israeli guns.

After the lapse of seven years, it has become abundantly evident that Israel's aggressive policy toward the Arabs has failed. It has had unfavorable and contrary results. "No peace with Israel," is the general cry of all official and unofficial Arab bodies of every color and creed. And under these circumstances, the Arabs do not think of other remote dangers when preventive war is being so much talked about by the Israelis who now enjoy arms superiority over the Arabs. The communist danger, feared by the Democracies, seems far away and at the moment unimportant to the Arabs when confronted with the immediate danger at their doorstep.

ZIONISM, A THREAT TO U. S. INTERESTS IN ARAB WORLD

The Arab World has been in contact with western civilization for more than a generation. This civilization penetrated all parts of the area and American and European schools and colleges played a significant role in the educational programs of the Arab people. The great achievements of the American University of Beirut, Lebanon; of Robert College in Istanbul, Turkey, and of the American University of Cairo in Egypt, in the field of education and towards fostering a better understanding between the United States and the people of the Middle East are worthy of mention. Consequently, the Arabs became the traditional friends of western democracy.

During the First World War, the Arabs fought with the Allies against the Turks. Many Arab statesmen were hanged by Jamal Pasha, Commander of the IVth Turkish Army, in the public squares of Damascus (Syria) and of Beirut (Lebanon) for their sympathies and assistance to the Allied Cause.

In 1920, in a plebiscite by the King-Crane Commission, 90% of the Arab people selected the United States of America to be their adviser until such time as they are able to stand alone.

Unfortunately, these good relations between the Arab people and Western Democracies began to fade away soon after the First World War. The Jewish National Home policy of Great Britain in Palestine had seriously damaged the good relations existing between that country and the Arabs; while the creation of Israel through United States support has almost destroyed the unparalleled prestige the United States enjoyed in the Arab World for the last hundred years. The recent violence in Jordan and the attacks of

the angry crowds on United States Consulates and buildings are but a demonstration of the real feelings of the Arab people towards the United States for its unqualified support of Zionism and its offspring Israel.

ISRAEL IS BASED ON RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

The Zionists contend that they have a territorial claim to Palestine because of ancient historic connections and Biblical prophecies.

We have explained in Chapter I how this claim has been refuted by Bible scholars. Furthermore, it will be difficult to convince any sensible man by the argument that ancient connections or Biblical prophecies of thousands of years ago would give the Jews, as a religious community, political rights in a country already inhabited by a people of all faiths for many generations past. Since these mythical promises were made some four-thousand years ago, it has come to pass that the Holy Land became sacred, not only to the fifteen million Jews of today, but to the 700,000,000 Christians and the 250,000,000 Moslems as well. Since time immemorial, Palestine has been surrounded by a halo of sacredness; it is the land of the Prophets of Old, the Cradle of Christianity and the Second Mecca of Islam. Let us not forget that Palestine has been for generations - and will continue to be for all time - the sanctuary for millions of pious pilgrims of the three faiths. And now to make of it a Zion for Zionists alone to the exclusion of the hundreds of millions of Christians and Moslems, is a legend.

This legend of Jew and Gentile is the Charter of the State of Israel today, the idol of the Israeli worship; and as in the Crusades, wars will continue to wage in Palestine until there is no more Jew or Gentile in the Holy Land.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAY TO PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND

ISRAELI ATTITUDE TOWARDS PEACE

No doubt that any form of peace between the Arabs and the Israelis is further away today than it has ever been. With the present stand of the Israelis there is definitely no common ground for peace talks.

There was, however, a good chance for establishing peace in the Middle East in the year 1948. In December of that year, after the fighting in Palestine had ceased, the General Assembly adopted a resolution for the establishment of the Palestine Conciliation Commission and charged it with the task of facilitating peaceful settlement between the parties to the Palestine dispute.

This Commission, on the 12th of May, 1949, held a conference in Lausanne, Switzerland, where both parties signed a document, known as "The Lausanne Protocol" * whereby the parties agreed to negotiate a peace treaty on the basis of United Nations resolutions. These resolutions were:

(a) The Partition Plan of November 29th, 1947, which includes the internationalization of Jerusalem and its **Corpus Separatum**; and

(b) The return of Arab refugees to their homes and full compensation of those who do not wish to return, as resolved by the General Assembly on December 11th, 1948, and reaffirmed by the resolution dated December 14th, 1950.

It has now become evident that Israel's willingness to sign the "Lausanne Protocol" was merely to induce the General Assembly to admit the new state as a member of the United Nations. No sooner was it accepted when the Israelis repudiated their obligations and refused to negotiate on the basis of the two above mentioned resolutions. They have persisted in their refusal until this day.

Having annexed by force of arms a large Arab territory beyond that allotted to the "Jewish State" under the Partition Plan, and after expelling the greater portion of the Arab inhabitants, the Israelis are now asking for peace. Their terms for peace, however, are conditioned by the **fait accompli.**

As to the refugee problem, the Israelis say, "we cannot take the Arab refugees back as we want their homes for the Jews from Rumania, Poland and elsewhere. We will not obey United Nations resolutions regarding the return of the refugees as we are concerned with the Jews of the world and not with the Arab gentiles of Palestine. It is the concern of the United Nations and the Arab countries to find new homes and new means of livelihood for these Arab refugees."

The Israelis further say, "we are not willing to give back one inch of territory we now occupy. It is our country and ours alone. We want to enlarge it so as to absorb more Jews. We don't mind Arab opposition. We are strong and we are well armed. We want to expand and not to relinquish."

As for Jerusalem, the Israelis say, "it is our City and our capital. No other community has any claim or right in that Holy City. It is Zion for Zionism and what is Zionism without Zion. We want it for ourselves. We are the **Chosen People."**

With this mentality, the Israelis have been incessantly asking to make peace with the Arabs, who are being accused of negativism and of aggressive intentions.

It is because of this Israeli attitude that former Assistant

---

* The full text of the "Protocol" is found in Appendix III.

Secretary Byroade, previously quoted, in his Philadelphia address, said:

> "The first fundamental I would list is that the possibility of an early formal peace treaty type of settlement between Israel and the Arab States just does not exist. I have challenged the validity of that conclusion only to be convinced of its basic soundness."

Events since the date of his statement have confirmed Henry Byroade's conclusion. But for the United States Government, on whose economic and moral support Israel depends, to stop at that and suggest for a solution, as the former Assistant Secretary of State continues: "concentrate on what can be done within the limits of practicability" means an unstable Middle East for decades. If the United States Government and the Israelis believe that the Arabs will get tired of the situation in the course of time and will accept any form of peace, Stanley High, Senior Editor of the "Reader's Digest," will be able to tell them what a refugee in a Baalbek camp told him when he visited that camp:

> "Sir, we are fighting a hundred years war; did you ever hear of the Hundred Years War between England and France?"

The Arabs maintain that it is "within the limits of practicability" for the United States Government to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. This can be achieved by withholding further financial aid and moral support of Israel until such time as the Israelis submit to United Nations resolutions. It should be remembered that the United States Government used this method only on one occasion (the Jordan deviation) with an immediate and effective result. This approach to the solution of the Palestine problem can bring quicker and more fruitful results than by trying to resettle a fraction of the refugees by such irrigation schemes as the "Johnston Plan" and the "Sinai Development Project," both of which will, in any event, require over ten years to accomplish.

ARABS LOOKING EAST

Finding that the Western Powers had decided to maintain the **status quo** in the Middle East whereby the Israelis are allowed to enjoy Arab lands, property and incomes and with an army better equipped than all the Arab armies combined, the Arab States attempted to purchase arms from the West to defend themselves against Israeli aggression and threats. Failing to receive any response, the Arab States had no alternative but to obtain arms from other sources. The Czechoslovakian consignment for Egypt was a shock to the Western Powers, but they cannot deny that they had not been warned beforehand. They were too confident, however, that the Arab Governments would not dare to take such a step notwithstanding the injustices that have taken place in Palestine and inspite of the threats and humiliations that they have suffered at the hands of the Israelis. If, therefore, the Arab States have had to turn to the East for their arms, it is difficult to see how anybody can blame them.

It is clear now that the position in the Arab world is changing rapidly and the consequences may be detrimental to the interests of the Western Powers in that area unless they take immediate and effective steps to readjust their policy in accordance with justice. There are many ear-marks which indicate the change in tide. The recent demonstrations that have taken place in the various Arab countries are considered, not only by the Arab Governments, but also by Great Britain, to be a grave warning to the Western Powers of the seriousness of the situation. The Arabs have become impatient and weary of the prolonged Western pro-Israeli policy of which the Israelis have taken too much advantage. As a result, an anti-West feeling is growing rapidly in the Arab countries, which, if unchecked, might have the effect of destroying permanently Western interests in the Middle East or precipitate a third world war.

ARAB PROPOSALS FOR PEACE

The Arab States have never failed to adhere to the "Lausanne Protocol" of 1949, and have on every occasion signified their readiness to negotiate with the Israelis on the basis of the U. N. resolutions regarding Palestine. This stand was recently reiterated by Mr. Abdul Khaliq Hassouna, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, in a speech delivered December 12th, 1955, at a dinner by the American Friends of the Middle East at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. We would like however to emphasize, that the United Nations resolutions recognize the bare minimum rights of the Arabs of Palestine, and if we suggest them now for a solution, it is not because we see justice restored to us in their implimentation, but because of our earnest desire to find a possible settlement to what seems to us an insoluble problem.

The Arabs earnestly believe that it is within the power of the United States Government, if it so desires, to bring about peace to that troubled area if only that Government would, as a preliminary, insist that the Israelis implement the resolutions of the United Nations regarding boundaries, the refugees, and the internationalization of Jerusalem.

This restitution of Arab rights and territory will create a feeling of goodwill between the parties and will solve the major part of the refugee problem. At least half a million people will be able to return to their homes in the area restored to the Arabs. It would be naive of anyone to think that the refugee problem could be settled purely on a humanitarian or economic basis overlooking its political implications. No such schemes can solve the problem as Dr. Charles Malik, former Lebanese Ambassador to Washington quite rightly pointed out in his address in 1952 before the Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East, when he said:

> "The only reasonable and in the end practicable solution of this problem is to make it possible for the greater part of the refugees to be resettled on Palestinian soil."

The United States, champion of the Four Freedoms, should

therefore see that all Arab refugees who wish to return to their homes and property should be free to do so. The return of every person to his fatherland, home and property, is his natural and indisputable right. It is indeed beyond comprehension how a Zionist Jew can come from every country to occupy the home of the Arab and the Arab is shot at if he tries to approach his home on the Israeli side.

The United States Government should also ensure that Jerusalem is lifted above political strife and contention. Israel claims Jerusalem as its capital, not with the intention of making it a "Synagogue" or the "Holy of Holies," but with the aim of making it its political and economic center; and where is the justification for that? Did the Jews come from all parts of the world to Jerusalem to satisfy their political and economic ambitions? If so, what about the hundreds of millions of Christians and Moslems who look upon the Holy City - nay the Holy Land - as their Spiritual Center?

The logic of facts is inexorable. When the Holy City becomes a center of high political activity, there can be no peace in the Middle East.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The Arab people believe that there are many wise and conscientious Americans of all faiths, including Jews, who have not been affected by Zionist propaganda and who are loyal to the American flag and United States interests. A fine example of these loyal Americans are the members of the American Council for Judaism and the American Friends of the Middle East who owe their allegiance only to their country. We also believe that the number of such people is steadily increasing as the facts of the Palestine problem are becoming known to them. Many Americans, however, have come to realize that United States interests in the Middle East are now seriously threatened because of the pro-Zionist policy followed by their successive Governments of both Parties since the Balfour Declaration. These Americans believe - and their belief is shared by the State Department (as voiced by Mr. Dulles on 25th December, 1955) and by certain sections of the Press - that the Palestine issue must be lifted above internal party politics. In an editorial of November 4th, 1955, the New York World Telegram & The Sun said:

> **"Republicans and Democrats have both been guilty of using the Israeli issue in the past for vote-getting purposes. Surely that should be avoided this time."**

In the same newspaper of January 10th, 1956, under the title "They Hate Us," R. H. Shackford writes:

> "The news from the Middle East is grim and ugly. It is the reward for ten years of alternately meddling . . . In Jordan, families of American Embassy officials are fleeing . . . The U. S. foreign aid headquarters was burned . . . The American flag was torn down. Anti-Western, especially anti-American rioters are on the march. We are not liked - in fact, we are hated - in the Middle East . . . But the Pact is only a superficial sympton of

far graver illnesses that afflict the Middle East. At the root of most of them, although not the sole cause, is the long-festering Israeli Arab feud . . . "

The above should be taken as a sound warning that the situation in the Middle East is deteriorating fast, and unless Zionism in America is put in its proper place and prevented from further meddling in that area to the detriment of United States interests and world peace, the consequences might be disastrous.

It is therefore to the honest and conscientious Americans of all faiths who love their country above all others and believe in the Four Freedoms that we address this appeal. Let them not be misled anymore, for the danger is eminent. We have heard many a loyal American hope that the loss of China may not be repeated in the Middle East. This fear has been expressed in a recent statement made by Secretary Dulles as reported in "Time" magazine, January 16th, 1956, when it said:

"The cold war, bringing jeopardy to the Middle East's valuable oil preserves and a Russian penetration into this strategic area has forced a reconsideration of U. S. interests. Secretary Dulles now regards the region as the second most important for the U. S., after Western Europe: its loss he recently said, would be worse than the loss of China to the Western cause."

(This material is filed with the Department of Justice where the statement, required under the Foreign Registration Act, of "The Palestine Arab Refugee Office," 801 2nd Avenue, Room 801, New York 17, New York, as an agent of "The Arab Palestine Office for Refugees," of Beirut, Lebanon, and the Governments of Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, and Lebanon, is available for public inspection. Registration indicates neither approval nor disapproval of this material by the United States Government.)

APPENDIX I

AREA OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN PALESTINE*

1. **Area of Palestine:**	Palestine (excl. Negev)	13,746,023	dunums**
	Negev	12,577,000	
		26,323,023	
	Water Area	704,000	
		27,027,023	

2. **Land Area Ownership**

a) **Under the Mandate:**

Arab-owned	47.79%	
Jewish-owned	5.67%	
Others	0.54%	
Government ***	46.00%	100.00%

b) **Palestine according to Partition Plan:**

Arab State	11,589,870	or	42.88%
Jewish State	15,261,649	or	56.47%
Jerusalem (Inter. Zone)	175,504	or	0.65%
	27,027,023		100.00%

	Arab State		Jewish State		Jerusalem	
Arab-owned	77.69%		24.24%		84.70%	
Jewish-owned	0.84%		9.38%		7.01%	
Others	0.73%		0.34%		4.85%	
Government ***	20.74%	100.00	66.04%	100.00	3.44%	100.00

c) **Palestine as Result of Armistice Agreements**

i) **Land & Water Area:**

	Dunums **	Percentages
West Bank of Jordan	5,755,000	21.30%
Israeli-occupied territory	20,530,173	75.96%
Gaza Sector	350,000	1.30%
Demilitarized Zones & No-man's Land	391,850	1.44%
	27,027,023	100.00%

ii) **Ownership of Land in Israeli-occupied Territory:** Area: 20,418,023 Dunums**

Arab-owned	36.64%	
Jewish-owned	7.23%	
Others	0.52%	
Government ***	55.61%	100.00%

* Compiled from Palestine Government "Village Statistics 1945."

** One Dunum equals 1000 square metres; 1000 dunums equal one square kilometre; 4.05 dunums equal one acre; 2590 dunums equal one square mile.

*** Includes 615,961 dunums of registered land; 926,719 dunums of recorded land; and remainder mainly in "Negev" consisting of deeply eroded uplands and rift valleys and arid mountainous regions. Area of "Negev" not surveyed and Government title only "presumed." Jewish ownership of land in Negev only 65,000 dunums or half per cent of total of 12,577,000 dunums. Arabs enjoyed hereditary cultivation rights over all cultivable state lands on payment of equivalent of tax as rental. Arabs also had "grazing" rights over uncultivable lands of their villages.

d) **Land Area Ownership in Jerusalem City:**

Area: New City - 19,331 dunums
Area: Old City - 800*
20,131

i) **During the Mandate (New City)**

Arab-owned	40.00%	
Jewish-owned	26.12%	
Others	13.86%	
Government	2.90%	
Roads and Railways	17.12%	100.00%

ii) **As result of Armistice Agreement (New City)**

Arab Area	2,220 dunums	11.48%
Jewish Area	16,261 dunums	84.13%
No-Man's	850 dunums	4.39%
	19,331 dunums	100.00%

iii) **Ownership in Jewish Area** 16,261 dunums

Arab-owned	33.69%	
Jewish-owned	30.04%	
Others	15.21%	
Government	2.47%	
Roads and Railways	18.59%	100.00%

3. **Territory occupied by Israel in excess of Partition Plan** Area 5,600,000 dunums (approx.)
Jewish ownership of land within this area:

a) West Galilee	30,000 dunums	
b) Triangle	23,000	
c) Gaza	49,000	
d) Negev	65,000	167,000 dunums or 3% of the excess territory occupied

APPENDIX II

THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES

ESTABLISHMENT AND FUNCTIONS OF UNRWA

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine was established by Resolution 302 (IV) of the United Nations General Assembly on December 8th, 1949.

The functions of the Agency were, first, to carry out, in collaboration with local Governments, a program of relief and works for the benefit of Palestine refugees, and, secondly, to consult with those Governments concerning measures to be taken by them preparatory to the time when international assistance for relief and

* Jewish ownership of property in the Old City consists of three synagogues and a few other buildings; area not exceeding five dunums. Jewish community lived in property owned by Moslem Arabs.

works projects would no longer be available.

DEFINITION OF "REFUGEE"

The criteria for accepting refugees on the relief rolls were that:

> "they should be genuine refugees who had lived in Palestine for two years or more prior to the beginning of the conflict in 1948 and had lost their homes and livelihood as a result of that conflict."

Persons who had lost their means of livelihood but not their actual homes were not entitled to United Nations relief. These are from:

(a) Villages or towns situated on the borders, part of whose lands have been placed in Israel by the Armistice demarcation line;

(b) Villages or towns situated on or adjacent to the border which may not have lost their lands but whose economy was greatly disrupted by the Armistice line;

(c) Villages slightly removed from the border inside Jordan, parts of whose detached lands have been placed in Israel by the Armistice demarcation line.

A list of some 110 towns and villages coming within the above definitions was compiled by the UNRWA after consultation with the Jordan Government. The Director states in respect of these villages:

> " . . . more than half the land of frontier towns and villages (i. e. more than one million dunums) has been lost as a result of the conflict in 1948, including about 90 per cent of the irrigated land; the land retained is of inferior quality and mostly rain-fed; and the livestock has been reduced by at least three-quarters." *

The estimated number of such persons was placed by the Director of UNRWA ** to exceed 200,000 persons for the Jordan and Gaza Sector.

Refugees who at any time begin earning income sufficient for their self-support, are deleted from the relief rolls of the Agency.

RELIEF PROGRAM OF AGENCY

The relief program of the Agency involved in the main the free provision of food for about 950,000 persons and of shelter, at first mostly in tents, for about a third of them. Limited health, education and social welfare services are also provided but not sufficient to meet the needs of the refugee population. Clothing is contributed by voluntary institutions, but in spite of all this, the minimum need is not met.

---

* Special Report of Director of UNRWA, Official Records: Tenth Session, Supplement No. 15A (A/2978/Add. i). 1955.

** Annual Report of Director of UNRWA 1955, Off. Records: Tenth Session, Suppl. 15 (A/2978)

NUMBER OF REFUGEES

The number of refugees registered with the Agency as on June 30, 1955, were as follows: *

Gaza	214,601	
Jordan	499,606	
Lebanon	103,600	
Syria	88,179	905,986

To the figure of 905,986 should be added those refugees who have not registered themselves with the Agency and those who have left the four countries listed above for other parts of the world. It is estimated that the number of refugees that fall under this category are:

Iraq	5,000	
Egypt	5,000	
Lebanon	40,000	
Other countries	10,000	60,000

FOOD RELIEF

The basic foodstuffs distributed by the Agency per person are as follows:

	GRAMMES Per Month	CALORIES Per Day		
Flour	10,000	1,170		
Pulses (legumes)	600	70		
Oils and Fats	375	110		
Sugar	600	80		
Rice	250	30		
Burghol (Crushed wheat)	275	30	1,490	
Added in winter: dates	500	50		
Pulses	300	40	90	1,580

According to the Report of the Director, "the relief costs again averaged (in 1955) the low figure of about 27 dollars per person per year, including administrative expenses" that is, seven cents per person per day.

The Director also states that:

> "By itself, the quantity of basic food supplied (providing about 1,600 colories per day in winter and 1,500 calories in Summer) is inadequate in caloric content if it be considered as a complete ration; further, as it consists largely of flour, it is dietically unbalanced."
> "There are no items of fresh food in the ration nor any animal protein, the total vegetable protein content being 42.4 grammes per day in summer and 46.1 grammes per day in winter."

The following statement from the Director's Report is significant:

* Annual Report of Director of UNRWA 1955, Official Records: Tenth Session, Supplement 15 (A/2978)

"In spite of the above considerations, the margin of safety provided by the present basic distribution of foodstuffs is small, particularly in areas where work, and therefore earnings, is almost unobtainable. It is by no means certain that the refugees are in a nutritional state which would enable them to resist a serious epidemic."

APPENDIX III

PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION

"PROTOCOL of LAUSANNE"

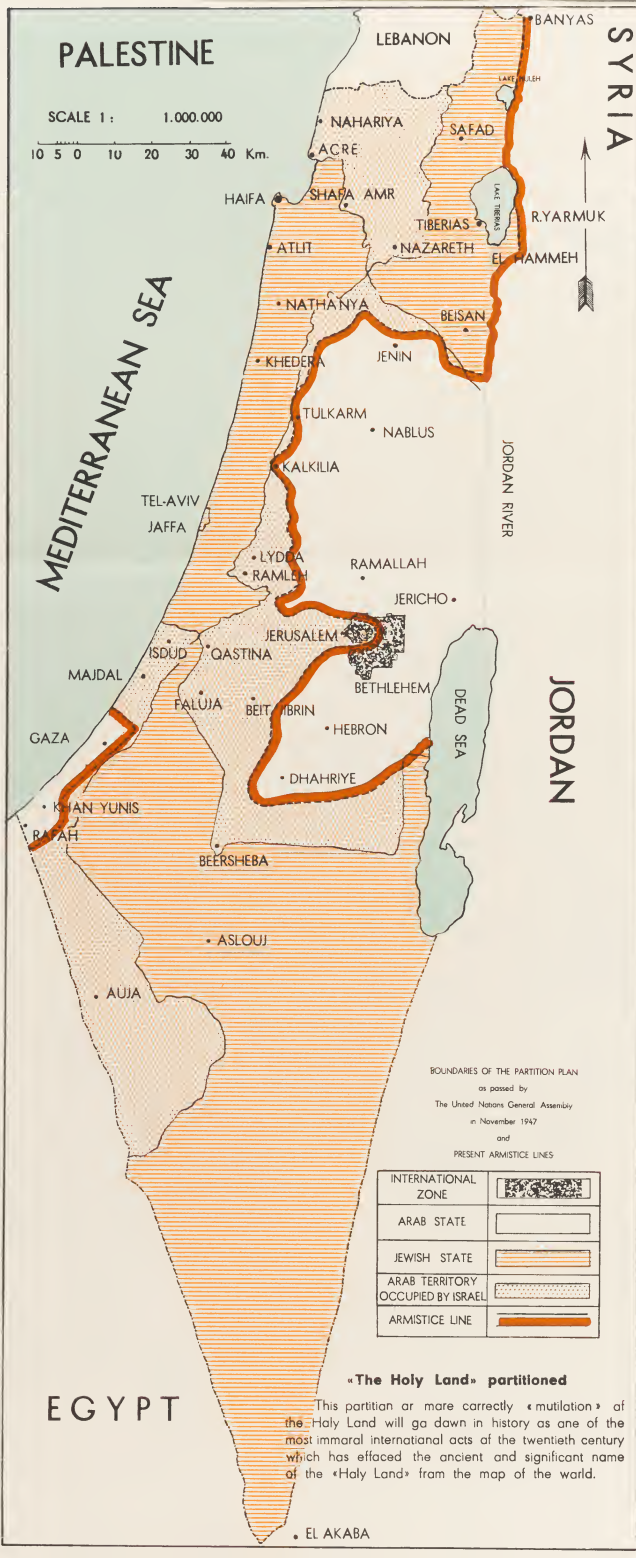
The U. N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine anxious to achieve as quickly as possible the objectives of the General Assembly's resolution of December 11, 1948, regarding refugees, the respect for their rights and the preservation of their property, as well as territorial and other questions, has proposed to the Delegation of Israel and to the Delegations of the Arab States that the "Working documents" attached hereto be taken as basis for discussions with the Commissions.

The interested Delegations have accepted this proposal with the understanding that the exchanges of views which will be carried on by the Commission with the two parties will bear upon the territorial adjustments necessary to the above indicated objectives.

Lausanne 12 May, 1949.

signed

Walter Eytan (Israel)	Claude de Boisanger	(France, Chairman)
	Cahid Yalcin	(Turkey)
	Mark Ethridge	(U. S. A.)



«The Holy Land» partitioned

This partition ar mare correctly «mutilation» of the Haly Land will ga dawn in history as ane of the most immaral internationa acts af the twentieth century which has effaced the ancient and significant name of the «Haly Land» fram the map of the world.